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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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OBSERVATIONS

FROM A SOCIALIST STANDPOINT
ON CURRENT TOPICS.

The Duke of Abruzzi Scooping Them In—"Moraliasts" Should Have Good Memories—The "Boston Traveller" Hiding Behind a Cloud of Dust—Beware of the Enemy's Praise.

The Duke of Abruzzi, a member of the royal family of Italy, is about to go into the banking business. Enamored of the million charms of Miss Catherine Elkins the Duke's marriage with the American heiress will at one stroke accomplish what the Italian Government has been trying on a slower path. The Italian Government has promoted emigration to the United States with the hope that a tangible number of Italians, after having made some little money here, would return home and deposit their savings. It was a banking scheme. The Duke takes a shorter and a more lasting cut across lots. Not only will he scoop in millions at one scoop, but, through the heiress, keep his tentacles on the railroads, and mines, etc., of the land, and keep up scooping. Italy always produced clever bankers.

From his prison cell, where he is confined for raising his voice against the labor-killing militarism of France, Gustave Herve says in his "La Guerre Sociale" of the 10th of this month:

"Six thousand men and women citizens met last Saturday at the Saint Paul Hall to protest against the Mo-

rocco brigandage committed by the French Government. A slight sprain that compels me to keep indoors, prevented me, much to my sorrow, from assisting at the solemn occasion."

With these humorous remarks as introduction, Herve proceeds, most "fanatically" to cow-hide the powers that be, and the cowards who are "unfanatical" enough to treat such outrages as the Monaco outrage with oratorical kid-gloves.

America should commend to the attention of the Holland Socialists Dr. Frederick Van Eeden, said to be an eminent Dutch physician and sociologist. Dr. Van Eeden has discovered or invented a new definition of Capital. According to him "Capital is a surplus laid up against the coming of a hard time." According to this definition J. Pierpont Morgan normally operates with "savings," and when hard times come on he draws upon his reserves—"Capital." The Dutch are not usually considered crooks. The "eminent Dutch physician and sociologist" Van Eeden is a brilliant exception.

As a moralist the New York "Evening Post" is decidedly bizarre. It lectures Roosevelt on the immorality of accepting a "third term" after he declared he would none of it. And yet the "Post's" pet Cleveland did that very thing. He first said he wanted only one term, and yet, after being once elected, he ran twice more, with the water of moral admiration running down both corners of the "Post's" mouth. But such is the "morality" that must be looked for from a paper that recommends "the rifle-dict" for the Working Class.

"Stop Thief!" and not "Socialism and the Family," should be the title of the article published in the Boston "Traveller" of the 16th of this month. When a paper that upholds the present social system of childless fathers and mothers, and in which prostitution is a social institution—when such a paper sets up the cry of the "sanctity of the family" against Socialism every sane man knows in what direction to look for the "family wrecker."

Like master, like man. The Philadelphia police are breaking up Zionist meetings. No doubt the police consider Zionism to be a sort of high explosive. Unfamiliar with the word, they must think "Zionite" is the Latin or Greek for "dynamite." They are to suppress dynamite meetings, consequently Zionist ones shall not be. The police are the men of the capitalists. Like man, like master.

Let no ungrateful heart pronounce Capitalism "an unqualified nuisance." A procession of six labor leaders, headed by Mr. Samuel Gompers, has marched up to the President of the Senate and the

Speaker of the House, with a minimum demand for four laws, anyone of which is a denial of the "Brotherhood of Capital and Labor." What educational power, if not that of Capitalism, could work so effectively as thus to force the hand of seven pet labor lieutenants of the Capitalist Class?—Capitalism is all right; give it rope.

One would not believe it possible, yet it is a fact, the New York "Times," in this year of grace 1908, defines the Socialist as a man who does not wear a clean collar, and who does not take a bath.

"When the enemy praises your leader, beware of that leader," is a maxim as old as Greek statesmanship, which the coal miners have now a splendid opportunity of testing. The gladsome shout and congratulation of Mitchell that has gone up from the capitalist press everywhere because he succeeded in making it impossible for a general soft coal strike to be called, but leaving each little mining district to settle with the bosses "without interference from the national mine workers' organization," should show them in whose band-wagon he rides—theirs or the mine owners?

Preparatory, it would seem, to the nomination of "Bryan and Hearst" by the Democratic national convention, Mr. Bryan is giving interviews in which, forecasting the Democratic platform, he advocates most of the principles of Hearst's Independence League. No wonder the Republican leaders are giving evident signs of nervousness. "Bryan and Hearst" will give them "the time of their lives," to keep their fences from being broken through.

Under a flaming headline: "Most Bloodthirsty of Agitators Are the She-Dogs of Anarchy," the Los Angeles, Cal., "Times" of the 15th instant gives the pictures of the talented Socialist lecturers Miss Elizabeth G. Flynn and Miss Rose Pastor Stokes, grouped together with such wild-eyed agitators as Emma Goldman and Voltairine de Cleyre. The sub-head is even more blood-curdling. It is "Fanatical Women Anarchists, With Their Daring Crimes Ostrapping Their Red Brothers, Have Become Terror of the World's Police." Such conduct as that of the "Times" justifies the theory that the capitalist class of the land is seeking to prepare the ground for an attempt, upon a national basis, of what the Goldfield, Nev., capitalist class terrorists tried but substantially failed in accomplishing—the lynching of everyone who exposes their iniquities. Why not begin with Roosevelt and Senator La Follette?

Long after their novelty has worn off, the pay-as-you-enter cars introduced by the City Railway Co. yesterday will be remembered with gratitude by the Socialist. There is a capitalist humbug to the effect that the better off a corporation is, the better off are its employees. Now, according to its reports, the City Railway Co. lost something like \$3,000,000 last year in uncollected fares. The new cars having made this impossible, the Company should now be \$3,000,000 better off a year; and its employees—why, their wages should simply go soaring! Safe to say, they will not—the conductors may even expect a cut. The new cars will thus serve to knock out one more economic fallacy: whence the gratitude which the Socialist will feel for them.

William N. Amory is a crook—a very crooked man. He crookedly discloses the circumstance under which the "intrepid Jerome" suddenly "lost enthusiasm" in his proceedings against rich criminals entrenched behind rich corporations. The downfall of Jerome looks tragic. It is not tragic; it is brilliant. It is a brilliant warning of what is to be expected of the "intrepitudes" that bourgeois movements spawn.

The glory of great men is almost as much in the keeping of their foes as of their friends. The Duke of Montebello, a member of that military coterie whom Zola contributed so much to pillory in the Dreyfus affair, objects to have the remains of his illustrious grandfather, Marshal Launes, rest in the Paris Pantheon on the ground that Zola's body was placed there. Thus the vestiges of the Dark Ages, whom Zola withered, contribute to keep his memory green.

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THREE CHEERS FOR THE "LABOR-SOCIALIST"!

Not long ago—it is not so long since C. W. Post of Battle Creek, Mich., burst upon the horizon—The People had occasion to pitchfork this apostle of capitalism as an egregious clown and ignoramus on economics. The gentleman affords the Socialist Movement a fresh opportunity to pitchfork him, this time as a dealer in statistical "green goods."

Mr. Post is now before the public with a four-column dysenteric article, which he has published simultaneously West and East and North, against the "Labor-Socialists." The Labor-Socialists are called all manner of names, among other things they are called home-stealers, and the "Home-Owning class," who Mr. Post declares, "heavily outnumber the Labor-Socialists," are summoned to take their stand right away, if not sooner, against the predatory Labor-Socialists whom he sketches as follows:

"If any man has worked and been economical and self-denying and has bought a home, take it away and divide up the proceeds among those who are unthrifty, drinking, profligate or simply 'failures'."

According to the Census for 1900, the total number of homes in the land was 16,187,715. Furthermore, according to the same Census, the number of homes "owned" was 7,259,362, leaving 8,365,733 of the homes unowned. If we go no further, and look at these figures only, already Mr. Post's "heavily outnumbering 'Home-Owning class'" sinks into a decided minority, there being a majority of over 1,000,000 who do not own their homes. But there is worse in store for Mr. Post's "heavily outnumbering 'Home-Owning class.'"

A man may "own" his home, yet that ownership may be a snare and a delusion: it may be, in fact, a millstone around his neck. Hetty Green admitted she did not care to buy land; she was

satisfied with taking mortgages on land. A wise woman in her Post-Capitalist generation—leave to others the empty glory of "ownership" with all the burdens of taxation, etc., that that ownership carries with it, and keep for yourself the substance. The mortgaged capitalist takes the shell, the mortgagee capitalist takes the kernel. Obviously, one knows little if he only knows how many homes are "owned"; his knowledge does not become accurate until he knows how many of these homes are unencumbered. The same Census answers the question. Of the 7,259,362 homes "owned" there were, free from encumbrance, only 4,761,211. In other words, out of the total of 16,187,715 homes in the land, the "heavily outnumbering 'Home-Owning class'" sinks into a still more pitiful minority, the actual majority of the "non-home-owning" class towering up to 11,428,504 in excess of the "Home-Owning" fraternity.

When one turns to Mr. Post's own State of Michigan the facts bump equally hard against the gentleman's nose. The total number of homes in Michigan is 548,004; of these only 193,190 are free from encumbrance, leaving a overwhelming majority of 454,904 actually or virtually owned by somebody else.

As is well known, homes that are actually owned are not crowded. The families are small, the inmates few. Crowding and congestion is found only in the unowned homes—the mortgaged, especially the hired ones. Calculating the total population of the land at 80,000,000, and making the generous allowance of 4 members for every actually home-owning family there would be 10,044,844 of these preferred beings to 60,955,156 who would fall under Mr. Post's category of "unthrifty, drinking, profligate or simply 'failures'."

Whichever way Mr. Post turns he is caught. To him there is not even an

alternative. He is in a hole, with the wind and hail and sleet blowing in upon him from all sides. His "heavily outnumbering 'Home-Owning Class'" dwindles into nothingness in sight of a 60,955,156 majority of "unthrifty, drinking, profligate, or simply 'failures'." Mr. Post's statistics are "green goods."

But Mr. Post is not simply a dealer in statistical "green goods." Nothing better can be expected from his tribe; nor is that anything new, or particularly encouraging. What there is decidedly encouraging is the fact which the gentleman takes four columns in a large number of papers to prove, to wit, that vile calumny of Labor and Socialism is all the weapon his tribe has to fight the Labor-Socialist with. This is encouraging.

It is so in larger as in smaller matters—when Wrong finds its arguments shattered, and every bone in its body broken by Reason, it ever drops argument and takes to personal slander. The move is an evidence of intellectual bankruptcy.

When Mr. Post, rearing himself upon his hogus "heavily outnumbering 'Home-Owning class,'" pronounces the Labor-Socialists an "unthrifty, drinking, profligate, or simply 'failures' class" because they do not own their homes, the gentleman libels that actually "heavily outnumbering" class of our population whose industry builds up the land, and the fruit of whose industry is plundered, in fact by the class that stands exposed as the "unthrifty," the "drinking," and the "profligate," and whose "only success is in producing failures" and panics. When one's foe displays mental bankruptcy in a conflict one may well feel cheered. Such bankruptcy is a harbinger of victory to us. It is a proof of the soundness of our position: it is a sign of approaching collapse with the foe.

Three cheers for the Labor-Socialist!

BREWERY WORKMEN

ARE ON WARPATH AGAINST PROHIBITION.

Issue Public Spirited Call Proving The Utter Unselfishness of the Craft Union Organization—Do Not Object to Slave Market, but Oppose Too Many Idle Slaves.

Tacoma, Wash., March 14.—The International Union of Brewery Workmen is engaged in a tussle with the Prohibition movement. It declares the temperance fanaticism to be disastrous to the economic interests of the whole nation and calls upon the "Public in General and Organized Labor in Particular" to rise and save the Brewery workers from losing their jobs. Jobs are what these men want, not freedom.

In the circular issued there is embodied all that is grossly selfish, crassly stupid and detectably hypocritical in the principles of organization for so-called "economic" purposes only—the organizations of the American Federation of Labor type.

The brewery workers' union, according to the professors in their circular are the watch dogs of the American workingmen's right to take a drop of drink: they are more interested in this question than the average worker himself. At any rate they are certainly making a louder noise. The brewery workers are, it is said, intent on demonstrating their purely patriotic public spirit. In line with this purpose they ask what the temperance fanatics would do with the hundreds of thousands who would lose their jobs if the industry were stopped. They are afraid that many men and women would be dumped upon the labor market. They are not so much concerned about the fact of the existence of such a market. But they don't want it overstocked. They say it is all right to have slavery but do not have too many slaves out of work.

The speakers at the meeting were Ad. S. Carm and E. T. Holmes. Twenty pamphlets and twenty copies of the Arbitrator were sold.

when politics benefit the brewers. But if the politics do not bring the slightest grist to their mill they decide that there is no use. Let the other fellow fight for himself. Such is the spirit of the craft union. And such is also the stupidity and impotency of that form of organization. Each for himself and nobody for anyone else.

It is reported that the Master Brewers are thoroughly in accord with the pleadings of their workmen. The bosses also, recognize that it is much more profitable to have men employed than it is to see their beer go stale and flat and see the hops rot. There is complete unanimity of opinion between master and man on this point: the brothers, capital and labor, are embracing each other. Thus there is the fullest kind of A. F. of L. brotherhood between employer and employee. The Master Brewers had given the command and the serving Brewery brothers have obeyed the order. Such a combination has the cheek to parade as a labor organization and unblushingly solicit the workingman's support.

SCANDINAVIAN S. L. P.

Scandinavian Federation Organizes New Branch in Chicago.

Chicago, March 16.—Yesterday afternoon March 15, while Section Cook County, S. L. P., was busy merry-making, a new branch of the Scandinavian Socialist Federation was organized with 14 members at a meeting in Bowman's Hall, 58th and Aberdeen streets, in the part of the southside known as Englewood.

The speakers at the meeting were Ad. S. Carm and E. T. Holmes. Twenty pamphlets and twenty copies of the Arbitrator were sold.

FORGING AHEAD IN SPOKANE

Start a Local Organization of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Spokane, Wash., March 11.—A large meeting of Servians and Slavonians was held in this city on March 9, and a local branch of the Industrial Workers of the World was organized. The Local starts with thirty-five charter members and promises to have a good growth. The men intend to procure literature which voices the cause of the workingman. They realize that the dozen or more papers in their own language do not represent the toller's side on questions concerning him and will probably make a move to start a paper of their own.

The brewers have decided that politics are worth while in a labor union

STATE CONVENTION

OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF INDIANA.

Wrestles with the Arbitrary Action of Its National Committee on Unity Question—A Delegate Calls National Committeemen "Fakirs" and "Business Socialists."

Indianapolis, Ind., March 19.—The Indiana State Convention of the Socialist Party was held in this city last Sunday, March 18th. Much transpired during the day, not of sufficient importance, however, to give space to, except the discussion on the Unity Question during the afternoon session.

First of all, though, let it be known that there was one delegate present who was in evidence every five minutes during the entire convention, namely, the Rev. Frederick Strickland. He was the autocrat of the day, at times even showing no respect for the chairman, who had difficulty in preserving order.

The serenity of the convention was disturbed when the Committee on Resolutions read a resolution proposed by the German branch of the Indianapolis local of the S. P., in which they asked that the State Convention go on record as opposing the arbitrary method used by their National Committee in the matter of the Unity Conference, and that the convention ask for a referendum vote of the entire membership of the party on this important question.

The Rev. Strickland immediately jumped up and moved that the Unity question be left to the National Convention and that the State Convention leave its hands off. The motion being seconded, a spirited discussion began.

Delegate Berg, of Indianapolis, one of the signers of the above-mentioned resolution, was the first to speak on the motion. He stated that the membership by all means should have a right to decide this question, and that Local Indianapolis did not intend, without raising its voice in protest, to permit a lot of fakirs and business Socialists dictate to the rank and file what they shall or shall not do. I believe every delegate

per to circulate in the region around here containing about 75,000 people speaking the Slavonian tongue. It is estimated that there are ten to twelve million of these people in the United States.

There is a large field for such a

representing Indianapolis stood behind Comrade Berg. He further pointed out that a democratic organization cannot stand for such procedure and he again urged the delegates to vote for the resolution demanding a referendum vote.

Several delegates from other parts of the State took the same position, including their Sec-Treas. Reynolds, who spoke in favor of the resolution. He stated that he was not satisfied with the action of their National Committee and judging from the members of the Socialist Labor Party, whom he had come in contact with, he certainly believed them to be honest, intelligent men with whom he would have no objection to unite.

Several spoke in opposition, but Strickland spoke in opposition several times, even when he was not entitled to the floor, and it was then that the chair had difficulty in suppressing him.

Strickland said that he had no objection if the Socialist Labor Party was willing to join the Socialist Party in this State, which he knows is out of the question. He then said he would like to know what the S. L. P. had to offer the S. P. here.

Another delegate took the floor and informed the chair that a member of the S. L. P. was present and asked that he be given the floor to tell the delegates what they had to offer.

Before touching upon the question put to me, I answered some of the other objectors who had previously spoken. I pointed out the reason for the split and also the reason why the S. L. P. did not attend the Unity Conference held in 1900. I showed why the National Committee of their party had voted down the conference and was just launching upon the question of the party press when the Rev. Strickland objected, saying I was taking up too much time and not confining myself to the question they put to me. Although the call "hear him" came from different parts of the hall, I did not continue where I broke off. Not wishing to do anything that might spoil any good impression I may have made and realizing that I should be thankful to have had the floor at all, I confined myself entirely to the question asked.

I told them the truth, I did not vanish matters at all. I told them how few there are of us in this State, but I did not fail to point out that it was not a question of numbers that was involved but a question of principle.

I also pointed out that it was not a question of uniting the two parties in Indiana, but nationally, and that it is the duty of every local, county and state organization to assist in bringing about a Unity between the two parties.

In conclusion I asked the delegates to lay aside all personal feelings and to carefully weigh the matter before voting.

Another delegate now offered a substitute to the motion to the effect that the convention go on record as endorsing the action of their National Committee. The substitute being seconded, the discussion began again. The Indianapolis delegation still insisted on the referendum. The Rev. Strickland now followed a new line which won the day for him. He played the rest of the State against the Indianapolis local. He faced this delegation, which was sitting on the left side of the hall, and began to upbraid them, stating that it was clear that the S. L. P. had done its work

UNITY

Address Delivered By DANIEL DE LEON, at New Pythagoras Hall, New York, February 21, 1908 :

Stenographically Reported by Sidney Greenberg.

Workingmen and Workingwomen of New York:
Almost immediately upon the issuing of the Unity Resolution by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, a number of acquaintances, and many who were no acquaintances, approached me with the request for a public expression of opinion in *The People*, from me, on the move. I declined. My reasons were that, in my editorial capacity, I had no right to comment upon an act of the National Executive Committee; and that in my individual capacity I had no right to space in *The People* until the matter should come before the Party membership on referendum. I yielded, however, so far to the request of my friend Epstein, our chairman here to-night, as to express, from this independent platform, the views that I have on this subject. All this precaution notwithstanding, and seeing that, somehow or other, the adversaries of the Socialist Labor Party have incarnated in me my Party's virtues, I shall take the additional precaution of stating right here, at the start, and expressly, that I do not here represent the Socialist Labor Party; that I am not speaking in its name; that I do not stand here in my official capacity in the Party and not even as a Party member. I speak here simply as one of the many people active in the Socialist Movement, and merely exercising the right of thought and speech. In pursuit of this line of procedure I shall consider the subject of Unity the way a traveler from Mars would do—objectively, unbiased by the rancors that participation in conflicts frequently engenders, but equipped with certain general information as to basic Socialist principles.

The first thing that that traveler, coming from Mars, landing upon earth, here in the United States, would notice on the field of Labor was the existence of two distinct political parties, both calling themselves Socialist, both having the word "Socialist" in their names, and both heralding the "Socialist Republic", but each setting up opposing candidates, each actively taking the field with opposing propagandists, and each claiming that it, and not the other, is entitled to the voters' support. The traveler from Mars must be supposed to be equipped with some general knowledge of men and things, and also of history. Such knowledge will warn him against considering such a sight, as the one I just described, as necessarily absurd. He will know that such a thing as two, or even more, bodies, having the same goal and yet bitterly combatting each other as to methods, is nothing strange in history. Being versed in history and in the philosophy of history, the traveler from Mars will be aware that different sets of people will frequently believe their goal to be identical, and will give it the same name, and yet, unconscious to most, but conscious to some, the goals are, in fact, not quite identical, the difference in goals being fatedly manifested by the differences in methods. For instance, the traveler from Mars will realize that the concept of a "Socialist Republic", whose central, or Directing Authority, that is, its Government, is to consist of the Representatives of the several industries and branches of occupations, must needs be a goal somewhat different from the goal presented by that concept of a "Socialist Republic", the Government of which is to consist of a majority, or even a totality, of Socialists, instead of Democratic and Republican Congressmen, members of Legislatures, or Aldermen. The traveler from Mars, aware that only the former goal is Marxist, will, accordingly, experience no surprise at seeing in America two opposing parties flying the colors of Socialism. On the contrary, he would see in the opposing tactics the reflex of the different goals; and he would consider, not absurd, but perfectly legitimate, and true to history, the existence of the two warring political bodies. But surprise is in store for our traveler the moment he takes in a more comprehensive view of the two parties and of the Socialist field.

The traveler from Mars will not confine his observations to America. He will extend them over the International field. The moment he does, there will be a surprise for him, that will compel closer scrutiny, and will result in revelations and conclusions that will cause him to change his opinion, and then wonder at the sharp division existing in America.

The first thing to strike our traveler's eyes will be the International Socialist Congress. As I am speaking here on the East Side, the term Sanhedrin may be appreciated. He will see the International Sanhedrin of Socialism. Landing, as our traveler is supposed to do, quite recently, his eyes will alight upon the Stuttgart Socialist Sanhedrin, and upon that his attention will be next focused. The startling sight will immediately strike him of the two warring parties in America being both seated in the Congress, and even represented on the International Bureau. "What does this mean?" he would ask himself, astonished. His astonishment would compel further inquiries. Inquiry would reveal a number of facts. Three of these facts would be leading ones.

The first leading fact that he would discover is that the Russian Socialist Revolutionary organization, the methods of which are essentially terroristic, has long enjoyed a seat in the Congress. One of the statutes of the Congress requires of its constituents the recognition of "political action", as expressly distinguished from the Anarchist claim that "physical force" is also of the nature of "political action". The "physical force" as "political action" Anarchists are barred from the Congress; the Russian Socialist Revolutionists are admitted.

The next leading fact to be discovered by our traveler would be that the British Independent Labor Party, which demanded of the Congress that it amend its statutes so as not to require of bona fide Trades Unions the recognition of

the class-struggle, was seated at the Congress. The recognition of the class struggle, besides being an express statutory provision of the International Congresses, is a basic principle with Socialism. Christian Socialists, who deny the class-struggle, are barred from the Congress. Although obviously denying the class-struggle, the Independent Labor Party was seated in the Congress by a ruling of the chairman of the Bureau, Vandervelde, to the effect that economic organizations of Labor recognize the class-struggle *de facto*.

The third leading fact that our traveler would stumble against is, if anything, more startling than either of the two others—the granting of a seat on the International Bureau to the Zionist-Socialists. Socialism is essentially international. Nativism or nativistic aims are repugnant to Socialist thought. Socialism, being essentially practical, does recognize the material fact of existing races and nationalities. Indeed, the constituents of its Congresses are grouped accordingly. But, at least not before the Stuttgart Congress, was ever a body of men, whose first aim is the restoration of a nationality like the Zionist-Socialists, or Socialist-Zionists, recognized as entitled to a place in the International Congresses of Socialism. In the very nature of Socialist-Zionism, the Socialism in its program can not be a thing to be striven after now; in the very nature of its program, the only thing upon which Zionist-Socialism can and must bend its present energies is the restoration of a nationality. That that can not be done without the "co-operation of classes" in that particular race goes without saying. Nevertheless, the Zionist-Socialists are to-day an integral body in the International Sanhedrin of Socialism.

Our traveler from Mars would wonder at all this, and at many other and similar facts that would jar upon his preconceived ideas of Socialism. His wonder will be all the greater when he looks around, and sees walls and balconies plastered with Marxian mottos that sound at variance with the facts of his discoveries. And still greater will be his wonderment when he notices that the only picture exhibited at the Congress is the picture, and almost the only name he hears conjured by is the name of Marx. But our traveler from Mars is a man of sense, and disciplined thought. He does not adjust facts to a theory; he adjusts his theory to the facts. Seeing the facts do not square with his theory, he lays his theory by, marshals the facts, and re-casts his theory in accordance with them. In this task of re-formulating his theory our traveler is materially aided by two circumstances:

The first is the aspect presented by the continental parliaments, especially that of France—the one European country which our traveler from Mars knows proceeds with strictest logic, in the form as well as in the matter. He will notice that—differently from Germany, for instance, in whose parliament the various political groups, representing different grades of social development, are thrown in promiscuously—in the French parliament these groups are historically and scientifically assorted, presenting a picture that is an epitome of the country's history. He will notice, for instance that, at the Extreme Right, are the deputies who hold the views of the Ancient Régime—the "good, old days" when the King was master, the people slaves—deputies whose program is that of an Ultramontane monarchy, and who, no doubt, would re-introduce Inquisitions and "Dragonades" for the salvation of the people's souls. To the right of this little group, and moving toward the Left of the Chamber, the traveler from Mars would see the group of constitutional monarchists of various degrees and shades. To the right of these, and still further to the Left of the Chamber, he would see the republican bourgeois, and they, he will notice, extend over and hold the center. Again to the right of these, and still further toward the Left, he would perceive the more radical bourgeois republicans, shading off further to the Left into the Socialistic radical republicans. Finally, at the extreme Left of the Chamber he would perceive the "Mountain"—the Socialist delegation. Traveling his eyes from the Extreme Right to the Extreme Left he would see the condensed history of France pictorially reproduced,—at the Extreme Right the Ultramontane monarchy, that once swayed the whole parliament, crowded into a corner by the constitutional monarchy, which, one-time ruling supreme, has, in turn, been shoved to the impotent Right by the bourgeois republicans who now rule the roost and once extended from the right of the constitutional monarchy to the extreme Left, but who now have been crowded out of the Left by the new apparition of Socialism. Our Martian traveler will readily grasp the moral of the picture. It teaches him that the Left—the "Mountain"—heralds the future; that the center represents the present; and that the extreme Right is a memento of the past. The "Mountain" tells what will be; the Center what is; the Right what was.

The second circumstance that will aid our traveler in re-formulating his theory is a term with which his ears would become familiar through the debates at the International Congress, the committees, and on the International Bureau. That term is—"The Socialist family"; or "The members of the Socialist family", meaning thereby the groups of different views admitted to the Congress.

Putting together all the facts that he discovered, and digesting them by the light of the picture presented by the French parliament, together with the light shed by the term "the Socialist family", our traveler from Mars would conclude as follows—

"The International Socialist Congress is cast in the mold of considering as members of the 'Socialist family' all organizations—from the most rudimentary, like Zionists-Socialism, up to the most clearly and soundly revolutionary, like the Socialist Labor Party—provided they all aim, remotely or

approximately, mediately or immediately, at the overthrow of the capitalist system of production. By the recognition of all such bodies as legitimate members of the 'Socialist family', the International Congress establishes a basic principle of its own as the foundation for the unity of the 'Socialist family'. Basic principles, as a rule, are premises; in this instance the basic principle is not premises but goal. The International Congress considers the abstract goal to be the family bond for the 'Socialist family'. Upon that principle the Congress rears its organic structure. Furthermore, seeing that correct methods for the reaching of a goal are themselves a matter of development, the International Congress considers the 'Socialist family' as a nation, itself as the parliament of that nation, and the various constituent bodies of that parliament as reflecting the development of the several members of the 'Socialist family', in the same manner that the French parliament reflects the development of the French nation."

On the principle that truth is that which fits all the facts, it must be conceded that the conclusion of the traveler from Mars must be correct. The theory he sets up with regard to the "Socialist family" explains the broadness of the International Congress; it explains the tolerance in its midst of bodies in various stages of development. On the same principle that the parliament of the French nation tolerates as members of the "French family" a large variety of groups—from the "Mountain" down to the "Swamp",—the International Congress throws her maternal arms around all those whom, aiming at the goal of the Socialist Republic, she looks upon as members of the Socialist family—from the most rudimentary up to the most completely developed. On the same principle that the French parliament, schooled by experience, knows that elements once dominant were successively crowded to the Right by elements once considered "impossibilist", and which occupied the extreme Left, the International Congress takes in "Mountain" and "Vale", leaving to time to demonstrate whether the "impossibilist" "Mountain" of to-day, or the "possibilist" "Vale" is to be the force of tomorrow.

These being the conclusions, this the theory that our traveler from Mars would set up from the facts in the case, the result would be that he would cease to wonder at what he saw on the international field, but would immediately begin to wonder at what he sees in America. At first, before he took in the international lay of the land, and, guided by certain general historical experiences, he wondered not at the open hostility of the two parties in America, even though such hostility to be true to history. Subsequently, however, having taken in the spectacle of the International Congress; having seen there the two warring American parties seated, without opposition by either; having taken cognizance of the attitude of the International Congress towards the Russian Socialist Revolutionary party, towards the class-struggle; questioning British Independent Labor party, towards the Zionist-Socialists, and on a number of other matters; having digested and interpreted all these facts together by the light of the principle regarding the "Socialist family", set up and followed by the International Congress; having done this, it was inevitable that our traveler from Mars should change his mind with regard to America, and be puzzled at what he saw here. The two parties of America being participants of the International Congress, he is bound to hold that they both adopt the theory of the International Congress regarding the "Socialist family". The theory of the International Congress regarding the "Socialist family" establishes the broad basis for concerted action. The application of the theory by the International Congress—proportional representation and freedom of agitational methods—points the way for the same application in America. Our traveler from Mars would wonder that the two American members of the "Socialist family", conduct themselves as such at the International Congress, but proceed here in America from a principle that denies such familyship.

But our traveler from Mars would not wend his way back home upon reaching this conclusion. He would prolong his stay on earth, and wait and watch developments. Presently he would have learned of the Unity Resolutions adopted by the Socialist Labor Party, and forwarded to the Socialist Party. I do not believe our explorer from Mars would have wasted any time in deplored that the overtures were not made by the Socialist Party, or in trying to smell "secret motives" in the move of the Socialist Labor Party. From his premises the move was due. It was over-due. It had to come from either quarter. It was so natural that he would have only applause for it—that applause which a thinking mind always has for a logical sequence. The move came. That is all that would interest our traveler and investigator. Soon as the move came a new train of thoughts would be started in his mind, and the machinery of his intellect would forthwith begin to grind the fresh grist thrown into it. He would reason somewhat along these lines:

The broad principles or basis for Unity is established by the International Sanhedrin; only details remain to be considered. These details affect only a *modus vivendi*. True, these details turn upon many a point that each considers vital; but, when true "members of a family" differ upon methods, it should not be hard for them to hit upon a means of agreement. No compromise even may be needed. If, indeed, they are "members of the Socialist family" the inevitable conclusion must be that each may realize some sense in the other, however temporary the sense,—the sense that the "Vale" must, by experience, be ready to concede to the "Mountain", and, inversely, the "Mountain" to the "Vale".

The Socialist Labor Party is unquestionably the "Mountain". Ninety-nine per cent., if not the full hundred per cent. of its planks, methods and principles are certain to be in force when the Movement turns the lap to the "home-stretch". But, essential to the ultimate success of a Revolutionary Movement as may be and is the upholding, constant and clear to view, of all the means necessary on the day of the "home-stretch",

just so necessary may, before that day, and simultaneously, be the looser methods of the "Vale". Things that, superficially, looked upon, are considered as abstract essentials by the two warring parties, may, if, indeed, the two are "members of the Socialist family", be found to be, not so much a matter of abstract principle, as a matter of the practical distribution of functions—"Vale" and "Mountain" each fulfilling its special function, while the consciousness of working to a common end may act as an allayer of the inevitable irritation that the impatience, typical with "Mountains" to raise the "Vale" to "Mountain" height, and the sluggishness, typical with "Vales", to prolong their flatness, may generate all the while.

Reasoning along these lines, our traveler from Mars, being a gentleman of an inquisitive and exploring turn of mind, would proceed to look into the several differences that each of the two parties considers as vital.

PRESS OWNERSHIP.

Though not, perhaps, because he thinks that the issue of party press ownership is supreme, but, probably, because that issue affects material interests—always a delicate and anger-provoking subject—our explorer from Mars would, in all likelihood, explore that issue first.

The Socialist Labor Party position, he would discover, is that the press is the most potent weapon of a Movement. Word-of-mouth agitation is powerful and necessary; but it can be set up and stopped at a moment's notice. Not so with the press. It is the product of growth, of financial sacrifices, of long and strenuous endeavor. To forge such a weapon without the certainty of preserving control over it, is to forge a weapon that may at any time turn against the Movement; and then the whole work would have to be gone over again, and under greatly increased difficulties. The Movement must own its press, or the press will own it. Hence the Socialist Labor Party holds to the strict party-ownership of its press. Our explorer from Mars would not be likely to find any fault with this reasoning. On the contrary, he can not choose but accept it. But before deciding, he would turn to the Socialist Party and opposite position.

The Socialist Party rejects the principle of party-ownership of the press. Our traveler from Mars would at first find himself tangled up in what seems an inextricable tangle—such is the discord of the reasoning he would run across. He would run across the recognition of the importance of the press, and yet plump-and-plain opposition to party-ownership on the allegation that party ownership spells "tyranny"; and he would run across declarations of devotion to party-ownership, and yet opposition to the Socialist Labor Party position. Our traveler would have too keen an ear to fail to detect in much of the opposition to party-ownership the ring of material interests that feel themselves rebuked by the Socialist Labor Party position, and, consequently, feel themselves endangered. But our traveler is too wise a man to imagine that the material interests of a few individuals and corporations could dominate the broad membership of a wholly voluntary organization like that of the political party, except in spots. Our traveler would, accordingly, discard the reasoning advanced from the quarters of material interests, and seek to fathom the seeming mystery of the Socialist Party opposition to the Socialist Labor Party principle on this matter. Patient and conscientious investigation will reward his efforts. He will discover the mystery, and, in discovering it he will alight upon the grain of sense that lies imbedded in it.

The United States, a country nearly as large, in point of area, as the whole of Europe, does not yet present a homogeneous economic aspect. Capitalism has spread in all directions, but so young is the country that primitive opportunities still occasionally crop up even in regions where capitalism is strongest, and, so vast is the country's territory, that primitive conditions still assert themselves over extensive regions. Being versed in Socialist science, our traveler knows that such diversity of conditions, implying different stages of economic development, is bound to be reflected in a variety of mental stages of development. Such varying mental stages require different treatment. Being versed upon the process of sociologic formations, as well as upon economic phenomena, our traveler knows that a strong organization is dependent, not merely upon identity of class interests, but upon the degree of development that these interests have attained. A proletarian element, that still has strong navel-string connections with bourgeois interests, can not be as solidly welded as an organization of proletarians with whom such navel-string ligaments have been sundered; and, obedient to the biologic law of "natural selection", the non-proletarian element, attracted by the two sets of proletarian developments, will share the features of the respectively attracting bodies. The less class-developed a revolutionary element is, the less homogeneous it will be; the less homogeneous it is, the more torpid will be its sense of sacrifice; the more torpid its sense of sacrifice, the less focalized will be its efforts. Inversely, the more class-developed a revolutionary element is, the more homogeneous will it be; the more homogeneous it is, the more active will be its sense of sacrifice; the more active its sense of sacrifice, all the more focalized will be its efforts. These facts and reasoning would illuminate the whole field to our traveler. They would explain to him why the Socialist Party strikes a posture of opposition to the Socialist Labor Party in the matter of the press.

* The Socialist Labor Party being the "Mountain", has gathered in its camp a class-developed revolutionary element. That renders its membership homogeneous; their homogeneity quickens their sense of sacrifice; their sense of sacrifice focalizes their effort—with the consequence that they have been able to set up and uphold a press owned by themselves—not only a Weekly, but a Daily English Socialist paper—a magnificent monument of what organized well-developed class-consciousness can achieve. Our traveler would realize, on the other hand, that the less class-developed composition of the Socialist Party, lacking the homogeneity that quickens the sense of sacrifice and focalizes efforts, could not possibly set up a press owned by itself. Incapable of that achievement,

the Socialist Party was put to the alteranative of either remaining tongue-tied, or accepting a press owned privately by individuals and corporations in their midst. Man adjusts his principles to his material possibilities. Seeing that the material possibilities of its composition disable it from producing its own party-owned press, the Socialist Party sings the praises of a privately-owned press. Furthermore, our traveler would realize that the very reason why the Socialist Party could not produce a party-owned press—the less-developed class-consciousness of its composition—is the reason why it believes that party-ownership spells "tyranny". The tactical and theoretic agitation of a "Mountain" can not choose but appear tyrannical to the "Vale", and the excusable confusion of thought is incurred of imputing the "tyranny" to the system of ownership.

Clarified on the matter, our traveler would conclude that, at least upon this head, his theory was correct as to the press question's offering no insuperable barrier for the establishment of a *modus vivendi*—always, of course proceeding from the International Congress principle regarding the "Socialist familyship". The united party, recognizing the respective field of the "Mountain" and the "Vale", consequently, also their respective capabilities, can leave each to regulate its own system of ownership. Mutual criticism would continue—sharp, if you please, but, being thenceforth conducted by bodies who practice the International Congress theory regarding the "Socialist family", the harshness of the manner might be chastened to the profit of the matter. And as time passes and class-conscious clearness increases, such increasing clearness would lead in its train the qualities that will cast off the private-ownership and set up the party-ownership principle. At present when such development takes place, friction is the consequence, or rupture. In the united party the transition would be accompanied by no such disagreeable consequences. Accordingly, upon the head of the press, our traveler would conclude that unity can be effected without sacrifice of principle by either side.

AUTONOMY.

The next subject of division that our traveler would place upon the dissecting table is that of "autonomy". The investigations made by him on the press-ownership would greatly facilitate his understanding of the reason back of the Socialist Labor Party and the reason back of the Socialist Party position, and arriving at a conclusion.

Our traveler from Mars has some knowledge of mechanics and a good deal of knowledge of the history of the American people. Mechanics teach him that there is in Nature a force called "centripetal": that force drives matter toward the center; and that there is in Nature another force, called "centrifugal"; that force drives matter apart. He knows that these two forces are not opposed, but are supplementary to each other. It is due to the joint action of the "centrifugal" and the "centripetal" forces that our planetary system is kept in shape. Our traveler's knowledge of American history tells him that America has solved, in the matter of terrestrial government, the problem of yoking together the "centripetal" and the "centrifugal" forces, and making them promote the country's existence. Our system of Federal and State governments, respectively represent "centralization" and "autonomy". The local self-government enjoyed by the several States is "autonomy"; the Federal government is "centralization". Each system has its own sphere of action. The two combined keep the top spinning. Equipped with this knowledge our investigator from Mars will tackle the problem of Socialist Labor Party "centralization" and Socialist Party "autonomy" with a hopeful heart. As I just said, his investigations concerning the issue of press-ownership will lighten his work greatly. For the identical reason that an organization of "Mountain" elements will necessarily move in focalized shape, and, accordingly, exhibit the aspect of "centralization", an organization of "Vale" elements is bound to move divergently, and exhibit the aspect of "autonomy". It is not that the former starts with "centralization" as a matter of principle, and the latter with "autonomy", also as a matter of principle. The traveler from Mars would realize that the fact is just the reverse. The one acts "centrally", the other "autonomously", as a result of their different compositions. He would also realize that, for the same reason that private-ownership of the press is a necessary transitional period with a "Vale" element, and party-ownership the necessary condition for the successful, or safe, "home-stretch", "autonomy" has its transitory, and "centralization" its permanent function.

Our traveler would furthermore and finally realize that, at the present stage of American mental conditions, only harm could come to the Movement from the prolongation of the dislocated operation of the "centripetal" and the "centrifugal" forces, which, at the present stage, should operate together. It would be no rare occurrence for our traveler from Mars, as he travels over the country, to meet thoughtful Socialist Party men, who dread nothing so much as the verification of the jubilant prophecy, so often heard from flighty Socialist Party quarters, that "the Socialist Labor Party is about to die". It would be no rare occurrence for our traveler to hear thoughtful Socialist Party men and women declare: "The Socialist Party needs the Socialist Labor Party to keep our party straight".

Our traveler from Mars would conclude, always proceeding from the International Congress theory regarding the "Socialist family", that the two American members of that family, if they are really of one family, should find no diffi-

culty, on this subject also, to find a *modus vivendi*, to the advantage of both, seeing that an agreement would result advantageous to the Movement.

TRADES UNIONS.

Even the theory of the International Congress, regarding the "Socialist family", might have failed to prove a workable foundation for our traveler from Mars to discover common ground, sufficiently solid, for the two American parties to arrive at a common agreement on the Question of Unionism. On this subject the "Mountain" and the "Vale" stood upon irreconcilable ground, and the International Congress had not yet reached sufficient maturity to bridge the chasm.

The Socialist Labor Party holds, and will ever hold, that, convenient, useful and even necessary though political action is to Socialism, the ballot alone is impotent to accomplish the Social Revolution.—The Socialist Party holds that the ballot is all-sufficient.

The Socialist Labor Party, holds, and will ever hold, that the only physical force, without which no ballot ever was or ever will be effective, available to the proletariat, and ample for its purpose, is its class-conscious and industrially organized economic Union.—The Socialist Party holds that the political organization is the all-sufficient revolutionary organization.

The Socialist Party looks upon the Union as a transitory affair; as an organization that capitalist development tends to wipe out; as a sort of Kindergarten in which to train Socialist voters; as a drilling ground for the class-consciousness of the working-class.—The Socialist Labor Party looks upon the Union as a permanent institution; the Socialist Labor Party looks upon the Union as an organization that capitalist development does not tend to wipe out, but that, on the contrary, capitalist development, on the one hand, deliberately seeks to perpetuate in its obsolete craft Union shape as the strongest bulwark for the continuance of capitalism, while, on the other hand, capitalist development unintentionally and unwillingly forces the workingmen forward to reform their economic organizations upon a fit system, by itself marshaling the workers into the industrial battalions that ever more industrially organized capitalism itself furnishes the mold for. Accordingly, the Socialist Labor Party does not look upon the craft Union as a drilling ground for the class-consciousness of the workers, but, on the contrary as bodies in which the class-consciousness, learned in the shop, can be, and generally is stamped out.

All this our traveler from Mars would know. He would have seen the horns of the two parties locked. Not an inch of common ground perceptible. Thus, he would know stood things a year ago. But he would conclude that since then the declaration of the Stuttgart International Congress on Unionism had thrown a bridge across the chasm, which before then, seemed impassable.

The declaration of the Stuttgart International Congress on Unionism, our traveler from Mars would know, is seriously defective in more than one respect. He would know that that declaration places the political abreast of the economic arm of the Movement, and thereby places the two in false perspective, seeing that the economic arm is the more important, first, because it is indispensable to the revolutionary act, and next, because it is the frame of the Government of the Co-operative Commonwealth. But our traveler would be fully aware of the fact that the Stuttgart declaration is the longest step the International Congress had yet taken in that direction. He would be aware of Vandervelde's introductory remarks to the volume of the reports to the Stuttgart Congress in which, taking a bird's-eye view of the situation, he observes that the fact is salient from the bulk of the reports that the question of the economic organization has assumed an importance not recognized even four years ago; that this fact is the phenomenon of greatest importance since the Amsterdam Congress; and that militant Socialism to-day sees in Unionism a fact of greater moment to the Revolution than the conquest of a few seats in the political parliaments. With these facts before him, our traveler from Mars would not be slow to perceive solid ground for a common understanding in America.

It is true, our traveler would be aware that the Socialist Labor Party voted against the Stuttgart Resolution on Unionism, but he would not be confused by that circumstance. Our traveler is versed in parliamentary practice. He is aware of the inferiority of the parliamentary system followed at the International Congress—its inferiority to the American; and he knows the false position such inferior parliamentary practice often places the voter in. Let me illustrate. Suppose that, in view of the disgracefully dirty condition of the streets that we have all had to wade through in order to reach this hall, some one were to move that a committee of twenty of us be appointed to call upon the Mayor to-morrow morning and remonstrate with him. I would immediately move to amend that the committee consist of only three men, upon the ground that I have seen large committees appointed who were wound up by the Mayor around his finger, and then, the committee being so large, each member threw upon the other the blame for their having been humbugged by the Mayor, and in that way all escaped responsibility for their poltroonery; whereas, if the committee is small, then such shifting of responsibilities is not so easy, and the committee is more likely to keep a stiff upperlip before "His Honor". What is our, the American parliamentary method? It is to put the amendment first; if my amendment is lost I would then support the original motion as the next best thing. To put the original motion first is bad practice. If that is done, then I would be compelled to vote against the motion, and preserve my vote for when the amendment was submitted. Whereas in that other case, all those who favor my amendment would vote for it; and, if it is lost, we would all be unanimous for the original motion. Our traveler from Mars would know that the practice is upside down at the International Congress. He would, accordingly, know that the Stuttgart Resolution was the original motion, the joint S. L. P. and I. W. W. Res-

olution an amendment to the original motion, and that, according to the practice of the International Congress, the original motion, being put first, the S. L. P. was compelled to vote against it, and, seeing that it was overwhelmingly carried, the S. L. P. had no further opportunity to express itself; whereas, had the amendment been put first, and defeated, the S. L. P. would have supported the original Resolution as the next best thing. Our traveler, knowing all this, would discount the fact of the S. L. P. having voted against the Stuttgart Resolution on Unionism. He would see in that resolution and the circumstances of its adoption a long step forward in the right direction—the recognition of the necessity of the Union for the revolutionary act—a recognition which, though not yet accompanied with all the recognitions that flow therefrom, nevertheless, removed in fact the chasm between the two parties in America, and presented a common ground upon which to negotiate an agreement for the future conduct of both. Accordingly our traveler from Mars would have seen no impassable barrier under this head—always, of course, presupposing that both are loyal to the International Congress theory regarding the "Socialist family".

Our traveler from Mars would, in this way, consider one by one the other and minor details, and his final conclusion would then be—

That the action of the Socialist Labor Party in adopting the January Unity Resolutions and presenting them to the Socialist Party was a proper, was a wise, was a noble act; it was an act of loyalty to the International Congress, of loyalty to the international proletariat in general, of loyalty to the American proletariat in particular. It is now up to the Socialist Party whether it, in turn, will act as properly, as wisely and as nobly; whether it, in turn, will act as loyally to the International Congress, to the international proletariat in general, and to the American proletariat in particular. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

RESOLUTION ON UNITY QUESTION.

Adopted by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party at Its Session of January 5, 1908, and Rejected, without Consulting Their Membership, by the Business and Professional Interests Who Dominate the National Committee of the Socialist Party.

WHEREAS, The International Socialist Congress, held in Amsterdam in 1904, adopted under the title of "Unity of the Party" the following resolution:

"The Congress declares:

"In order to give to the Working Class all its force in its struggle against Capitalism, it is indispensable that in each country there should be but one Socialist party against the Capitalist party, just as there is but one proletariat."

"Therefore, all comrades and all factions and organizations which claim to be Socialist have the imperative duty to do all in their power to bring about Socialist Unity on the basis of the principles established by the International Congresses and in the interest of the International proletariat, to whom they are responsible for the disastrous consequences of the continuation of their divisions."

"To help reach this aim, the International Bureau and all parties of Nationalities where Unity exists place themselves at their disposal and offer their good services."

WHEREAS, After this call was issued the various warring factions in the Socialist Movement of France—the Socialist Party of France, the French Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party and four Independent Socialist Federations of different parts of France—after some preliminary work of a Unity Conference, met in a joint Unity Convention in Paris and established the present Socialist Party (French Section of the Workers' International); and likewise, the warring factions in the Social Democratic Movement in Russia—the "majority" and "minority" factions of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party and the General Jewish Labor Union of Russia, Poland and Lithuania (The Bund) met in a joint Convention in 1904 at Stockholm, and organized the United Russian Socialist Democratic Labor Party; and,

WHEREAS, The experience of the Socialists of the above two countries, as well as that of other countries, where a united and developed party of Socialism exists, demonstrates—first, the possibility for all Socialists, recognizing the principles and decisions of the International Socialist Congress, to present with immensely increased effect a united solid front against the common enemy, the Capitalist, and to address a united, harmonious appeal to the Working Class which is so much more responsive when confusion, distrust and demoralization, created by internal strife and division in the Socialist camp are eliminated; and, second—it demonstrates the possibility of such co-operation based upon the recognition of the right of minority divisions of a United Party, to advocate their particular views through their own publications, and their own minority delegates to National Conventions and International Congresses; and,

WHEREAS, The necessity for a United Socialist Movement in America is ever more keenly felt, and the demands for it are ever more persistently and insistently voiced by the most active workers, the rank and file of both parties; and,

WHEREAS, The decisions of the recent International Socialist Congress, held at Stuttgart—both upon the matter of immigration, which recognizes the soundness of the Marxian motto for the Working Class, "Proletarians of all Countries Unite!" and, even upon the vital question of Unionism, which, while the Congress has not yet taken the advanced Industrialist position, does take a position that clearly rejects the principles that the economic organization is a "transitory affair," accordingly a position that holds that the economic organization is something more than simply a recruiting ground for votes and funds, but is essential to the revolutionary act of the proletariat—are, in so far as they affect the issues of the American Movement, of a character to present a more acceptable common working basis for the two parties; and in view also of the greater necessity for unhampered constructive Socialist work and greater opportunity for it furnished by the spreading of the present industrial crisis in America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, in semi-annual session assembled, desiring to free the Socialist Labor Party in the eyes of the Working Class of America and of the International Proletariat, of its seeming share of responsibility for the divided, demoralized and retarded state of the Movement in this country, hereby take the initiative toward remedying such conditions, by electing a committee of seven members and inviting the National Headquarters of the Socialist Party to elect a committee of like number to a National Socialist Unity Conference, to meet not later than the third week of the month of March of this year, in order to consider whether Unity of the two parties of Socialism in America is possible, and on what special basis; and be it further

RESOLVED, That if such conference takes place and succeeds in agreeing on conditions for uniting the two parties, such decisions of the Conference be immediately submitted to a general vote of the membership of both parties for approval, and the date for the closing of such vote be such that, in the event of the vote being in favor of the proposed basis of unity, steps be immediately taken that one joint National Convention, instead of two separate ones, be held to adopt—on behalf of the United Party and in conformity with the Unity basis accepted by the general vote—platform, constitution and resolutions, and nominate candidates, etc., and finally,

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the National Headquarters of the Socialist Party of America, the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels, and the leading Socialist and Labor publications in the United States and other countries.

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I luv a rooster becaws of his crow and becaws he har spurs to bauk up his crow with.

—JOSH BILLINGS.

OTHER THINGS BEING EQUAL."

Among the great speeches that are being delivered in Congress, Senator Bailey's on the National Banking Laws occupies front rank as great-great, in the sense of wondrously silly.

The Senator declared that prices would adjust themselves to any volume of money, "because," said he, "the same amount of labor or commodities, other things being equal, would command precisely the same amount of money; and the same amount of money, other things being equal, would command precisely the same amount of labor or commodities."

"Other things being equal," is good. Seeing, however, that with the commodity labor, or labor-power, it is of the essence of capitalism that "other things are not equal," Senator Bailey's science is reared on a fallacy.

"Other things are equal," at least in the long run, with all commodities, except the commodity labor, or labor-power. If the production of gold is not plentiful, what that means is that the output of gold requires more labor-power than when the production of gold is abundant. In the long run commodities sell at their value; "other things remain equal": exchange consists in giving value for value; a certain amount of gold, with more social labor crystallized in it, will exchange for a certain amount of cloth of equal labor-power, that is, will exchange for more yards of cloth than the same amount of gold would exchange for if the production of gold were more plentiful, and, consequently, less labor-power were required. But "other things are not equal" with the commodity labor-power. In the instance of that particular commodity, the perturbing cause, which causes prices to decline—an excess of supply not caused by a decline in the amount of labor-power crystallized in it—is not accidental, it is not sporadic, it is not subject to the tricks of speculation. In the instance of that particular commodity, the "perturbing cause" is permanent; it is a feature and a necessity of capitalism. Indeed, Marx shows, that the historical starting point of capitalism consists in the settled permanence of that otherwise "perturbing cause". An over-supply, or excess of labor-power in the labor market is a capitalist necessity as a starter; and the starting necessity develops into a broadening feature of capitalism in the measure that capitalism takes fuller and fuller swing. Relatively, and, from period to period, absolutely, the excess of labor-power increases in the labor market. Like a man given to the stimulant of liquor, needs larger and larger quantities of the stimulant to keep him stimulated, capitalism, which needs an excess of labor-power to get on its feet, needs larger and ever larger quantities of the stimulant to keep it going.

The long and short of the story is that, under capitalism, there is one commodity, the commodity labor-power, the price of which does not, can not "adjust itself to any volume of money." If the volume of money is low, that is, if the value of gold is high, the permanently perturbing cause of an excess and increasing excess of labor-power will cause the price of labor (wages) to be depressed still more. If, on the contrary, the volume of money is high, that is, if the value of gold is low, that same permanently perturbing cause of an excess and increasing excess of labor-

power in the labor market will counteract the cause which, with all other commodities, would tend to raise the price: the price (wages) of labor-power will in fact decline.

It is in this circumstance that the impossibility of the continuance of capitalism lies. Capitalism reduces human beings to the level of a commodity. "Other things remain equal," with all commodities, labor excepted. Seeing that the revolting fact of human beings being reduced to the level of things is one with which "other things," so far from "remaining equal," wax more and more unequal, even unto the breaking point—in view of that fact the Emancipation of Labor and the Downfall of Capitalism are mathematical conclusions.

"Other things being equal," is but an intellectual opiate which Providence forces to the lips of the doomed Capitalist Class. Providence has a way of licking its doomed agents to be startled before falling. The opiate of "other things being equal" is working.

DOGBERRY ON THE "EVENING POST."

The New York "Evening Post" is wroth at Mr. Gompers's demand for a law that shall prevent the Sherman Anti-Trust law from being perverted into a weapon of persecution against the Working Class. Such a move, the "Evening Post" declares, is "class legislation."

The Anti-Trust law, the "Evening Post" argues, was clearly meant against boycotts also, consequently the application to boycotts is not a perversion of the law. In support of its contention the "Evening Post" reasons as follows: In the decision in the Northern Securities case, the Supreme Court said that the Anti-Trust Act "declares to be illegal every contract, combination, or conspiracy in whatever form, of whatever nature, and whoever may be the parties to it, which directly or necessarily operates in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States." This declaration the "Evening Post" pronounces an absolute proof that the boycott operates "in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States," because it injures the firm's business.

That the boycott is not meant for a sweet-scented bouquet to the firm against which the boycott is ordered goes without saying. But neither would a fire started on the firm's premises; nor a dynamite bomb blown up on its grounds; nor a midnight irruption undertaken with jimmies and dark lanterns; nor the surreptitious carting away of the firm's goods by any one member of the firm—none of these acts would be meant for sweet-scented bouquets. Nevertheless, none of these performances falls under the Anti-Trust Act. They all fall within the Criminal Code—the first would be "arson," the second a felonious attempt to kill, the third "burglary," the fourth "embezzlement" or "theft," but acts "in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States"—never! If the boycott is a crime, something in the nature of arson, murder, burglary or embezzlement, why do not the Courts deal with it as such? Perhaps the spectre of the employers' blacklist acts as a deterrent; perhaps the absurdity of such a notion is a still stronger deterrent.

Dogberry is in charge of the law department of the "Evening Post." To call Prince John a villain, Dogberry pronounced "flat perjury"; to receive money for accusing the Lady Hero wrongfully, Dogberry pronounced "flat burglary." The "Evening Post's" Dogberry pronounces the refusal of workers to patronize a firm that refuses to patronize them an act "in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States."

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

Washington society is much unsettled about the amours of the Duke of the Abruzzi and Miss Katherine Elkins, the multi-millionaire heiress of the mine and railroad magnate Stephen B. Elkins, Senator from West Virginia. The perplexity arises from the circumstance that the Duke is a member of the royal House of Italy; as such, he is a possible successor to the throne; finally, and by reason thereof, his marriage is subject to the approval of the head of the House, the King himself. Rumors have it that the King objects; rumors have it that the King might not object, or does not object; rumors explain that the King, as the guardian of the interests of Italy, is bent upon hitching the Duke to some scion of royalty whose alliance may help to prop up the Italian throne; rumors also hint at the fact that millions may, could, would or should make amends for actual royalty. Raised upon this mass of conflicting rumors is a still taller mass of conjecture. Will the Duke marry anyhow, even if the head of his royal House should object? And, suppose the Duke be willing, would the heiress be also willing to purchase a hollow title? Thus perplexed by Rumor and Conjecture Washington society is in a turmoil.

The long and short of the story is that, under capitalism, there is one commodity, the commodity labor-power, the price of which does not, can not "adjust itself to any volume of money." If the volume of money is low, that is, if the value of gold is high, the permanently perturbing cause of an excess and increasing excess of labor-power will cause the price of labor (wages) to be depressed still more. If, on the contrary, the volume of money is high, that is, if the value of gold is low, that same permanently perturbing cause of an excess and increasing excess of labor-

"Will it be?" "Will it not be?" "What will it be?" All of which is much ado about nothing.

Royalty has a special institution named "morganatic marriage." According to this institution a member of royalty may have more than one wife—one, the breeder of descendants to the throne, another, or others, the conjugal solace or solaces of the polygamous royal husband—these wives are "morganatic." The institution of "morganatic marriage" is, when closely looked upon, only a variation of what capitalist society winks at and recognizes. With capitalism, marriage is but a means to secure lineal heirs to property. Where affection is thus debauched the natural consequence is "sacredness of the family" in public, with its shadow of prostitution in the dark. Royalty systematizes the practice. Hence the morganatic marriage is a recognized affair. The Duke of the Abruzzi may, accordingly, satisfy the head of his royal House by marrying a born Princess, and at the same time satisfy himself by marrying Miss Elkins morganatically.

"But," Rumor and Conjecture would join in asking, "would Miss Elkins submit to that sort of thing?" The answer is: "Why not?" If the lady does, she would be no pace-setter in the matter. She would be following precedent—a precedent set by another distinguished American heiress, the daughter of another American "Pillar of the Sanctity of the Family." Miss Elkins would but follow the brilliant lead of the Bostonian, Miss Elsie Hensler, who was recognized as the morganatic wife of Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, whom he was King of Portugal, and who, as Countess of Edla, outshone the regular wife of His Most Faithful Majesty the King of Portugal, Donna Maria de Gloria, and was treated with "right royal distinction."

WORK NOT SOUP.

It is with a laugh on the wrong corner of their mouths that the British capitalist papers report the meeting of the Battersea unemployed. Their laugh is of the sort that hides a sigh in the wrinkles of smile—and well may they sigh. The workers are waking up to John Burns, M. P., and Cabinet Member.

At that meeting of the unemployed a letter was drawn up and ordered sent to John Burns. A passage of the letter runs as follows:

"We also think that your past experiences of the work of charity should have made it quite unnecessary for you to make further experiments like those on the Embankment to prove the utter futility of charity. Further, whilst agreeing that epigrams, quotations, and well-rounded sentences are admirable in themselves and diverting to a well-fed audience, they do nothing to fill the empty stomachs of the workers."

These impudent words, from an impudent scamp, too impudent to enjoy vicariously the good things that are vicariously conveyed to them by the capitalist class, by bestowing them upon Mr. Burns.

These are impudent words for other and still more disagreeable reasons. The disagreeableness of the first consideration proceeds simply from that sense of sorrow that Philanthropy ever experiences at the sight of ingratitude. But, "sorrow with bread," observed the wise Sancho Panza, "are bearable."

Philanthropy may sorrow at ingratitude; but, Philanthropy's paunch being well stuffed with bread, that sorrow is bearable, quite so. Less bearable, much less so; in fact, almost unbearable is the taste left in Philanthropy's mouth by utterances, backed with postures, that somehow or other assume the character of prophetic "Writings on the wall."

When a canaille begins to reject "soup" and to insist on "work," it will not be long before the "work" it insists upon will be enlarged to all that it implies—and it implies worlds. It implies, first the Right to Work; it implies, secondly, the public ownership of the means of work, without which the Right to Work is a vapor; finally, it implies a certain kind of work, without which public ownership would ever remain a goal unachieved—that certain kind of work implied is the work of bouncing, through the united political and economic action of the canaille, the barnacles that now indulge in the philanthropic luxury of ladelling out soup.

Obedient to the maxim: "The first shall be the last, and the last shall be the first," this last named WORK, must and will be the one to start with. It is all implied and embraced in the slogan: "Work, Not Soup!"

TRY A WHALE.

Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, is of the opinion that the reason for the panic is that there was not enough money in the South.

Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island is quite positive the panic was brought about because there was not enough money in the New York banks.

Representative Cassel of Pennsylvania

has no doubt the panic was due to the harrying of the railroads.

Representative Brownlow, of Tennessee thinks that any blind man could see the cause of the panic is the high tariff. Senator Hopkins of Illinois discovers the cause of the panic in the disregard of the "fundamental principle" of live and let live.

Senator Guggenheim of Colorado wonders how it happens people do not see that the cause of the panic lies in "over-confidence."

Representative Meyer of Louisiana lays the panic at the door of "Republicanism."

Representative Powers of Maine points the finger of scorn at the Democratic party for being "the harbinger of hard times, ever."

Representative Bailey of Texas considers the cause of the panic to be obvious, to wit, the financial question, and the financial question to be the easiest problem of all to solve.

Senator Hansborough of North Dakota is quite positive that the panic is a puzzle, and finances a mystery.

Representative Livingston of Georgia has modest misgivings to the effect that the Negro question has its fingers in the panic pie.

Representative McMoran of Michigan goes into astronomical speculations. He does not quite say so, but the inference is that sun-spots are the villains in the play.

To not one of these, or the rest of the Congressional wisecracs who could be quoted, does the thought occur that wealth is to-day producible in quantities enough to afford affluence to all with very few hours of toil; secondly, that such abundance is not produced; thirdly, that the reason is that where wealth is produced for sale, and not for use, the output is beaten down by those who own the means of production; fourthly, that, under such circumstances, a diseased condition of things is brought about which breaks out in a number of maladies, and that these maladies periodically run into one another and take the shape of "panics"; finally, that the centre of the trouble, being capitalist production, panics are but the heavy rappings of Socialist production, battering at the gate of our present social structure.

The so-called relation between capital and labor," said Mr. Stevens. "If Mr. Stevens were in the pot of a cannibal horde on one of the islands of Fiji, would he then speak of the "so-called" relation between himself and his captors? Yet that self-same position, which is occupied by 80 per cent, of the people to-day, of being chicken pot-pie for the tooth of the capitalist exploiter, he calls "so-called."

Yet this relation, although "so-called," is of great importance to our business interests, and therefore to the very life of our republic," declared Mr. Stevens. "Our" business interests, forsight! Business is the endeavor of one individual to make all he can out of another. It is based in the first place on the exploitation of the workers out of what they produce; and in the second, on the efforts of one set of exploiters to exchange spoils with another, at a more or less profitable figure. As capitalism develops, the number of those who can engage in it is ever smaller and smaller. Lack of capital wipes out the others." As capitalism develops, the function of controlling production, once performed by the "business man," becomes more and more transformed into the function of holding the workers in subjection. The working class to-day actually operates and runs every industry in the country.

Jules Verne's Capt. Nemo could take the whole crew of "business interests" under the sea with him to-morrow, and no one would be the poorer. The republie would not be endangered thereby; on the contrary, like a child who had been brought up lashed to a board, it would first feel the thrill of life when the incubus was taken off.

"It is true that the great mass of humanity is born to serve—and they will to the end of time," averred Mr. Stevens. True, the great mass of humanity, the normal, undegenerate, overwhelming majority will always serve, and be glad to. Service, not idleness, will, under a proper social system, be more and more the badge of worth and character. But service under an elected leader for the good of the community will bear none of the degrading earmarks which now distinguish service under a self-imposed master, for the good of his own private pocket. Nor does service imply that the server will always have at his elbow a non-serving parasite to despoil him of the fruits of four-fifths of his service—as he now has under capitalism.

"Why not leave the statesmen and queers to their own devices? Boldly enlist under the flag of Social Democracy, and help fight the upholders of Capitalism, whoever they may be!"

PARIS COMMUNE.

Milwaukee Workingmen Honor Event and Form Tableaux Depicting Labor's Struggle in Battle for Life.

Milwaukee, Wis., March 15.—The Socialist Labor Party gathered together last Sunday at Bohemian Turn Hall and held a meeting in commemoration of the Paris Commune of 1871. The occasion was given over to speech making in English and in German. The most striking event of the day was the group of living pictures which were staged. These represented the graves of the dead Communards, in the background of which was unfurled the Socialist flag, showing that the spirit of the murdered revolutionaries lives on. Other pictures were: a factory and a wage slave entering it; a wage worker being carried home on a stretcher; a workingman's family being evicted, and the future Socialist Republic. These all made a deep impression upon the people present and will not soon be forgotten.

The rest of the program consisted of recitations and musical selections. In the evening those present took part in dancing.

In the afternoon the gathering unanimously resolved to send a message of sympathy to Gustave Herve, French Socialist, who has been sentenced in France for his speeches on Anti Militarism.

"And to divide labor equally would

A SPLENDIDLY UNCONVINCING ATTACK

"One of the first things in the making of a Czar, is to make him believe in it all," has said a noted student of Russian conditions. "One of the first things in the making of a docile wage worker is," similarly, "to make him believe in it all." Such is the principle on which Mr. John F. Stevens, one-time chief engineer at Panama, and now vice-president of the New York, New Haven and Hartford R. R.

In addressing a meeting of the students of Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University's technical department, Stevens addressed men, many of whom, probably, would sooner or later be employed on his own road. With this additional spur to his already great anxiety to scare-crow away the gathering class-consciousness of the working class in general, he delivered an excellent speech against Socialism. We say excellent, because it was so full of holes that with but half an eye the audience before him must have been enabled to see the imps of crass ignorance and unreasoning prejudice peering out at them at almost every sentence end.

Lewis Carroll, many years ago, in the midst of a heated municipal campaign in England, wittily laid down the maxim that "A plain superficiality is one such, that if any two points be taken in it, the speaker will be found to lie wholly between those points." Mr. Stevens, put to the touchstone of Lewis Carroll's wit, has delivered himself of a plain superficiality.

"The so-called relation between capital and labor," said Mr. Stevens. "If Mr. Stevens were in the pot of a cannibal horde on one of the islands of Fiji, would he then speak of the "so-called" relation between himself and his captors? Yet that self-same position, which is occupied by 80 per cent, of the people to-day, of being chicken pot-pie for the tooth of the capitalist exploiter, he calls "so-called."

Yet this relation, although "so-called," is of great importance to our business interests, and therefore to the very life of our republic," declared Mr. Stevens.

"Our" business interests, forsight!

Gershuni Dead.

Russian Revolutionist Passes Away in Switzerland.

CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

MUST HAVE THE PEOPLE TO KEEP POSTED.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Please oblige by renewing my subscription, for which I enclose P. O. for 2s. 6d. To keep in touch with the scientific Marxian exposition and its application to U. S. A. conditions is not the least of a British Socialist's necessities.

H. Myers.

Dundee, Scotland, March 6.

RECORD BREAKER SALES OF LITERATURE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Just a few lines from the North regarding some work done here. Since my last report I spoke before the Dome branch of the Western Federation of Miners. It was on January 8. After I finished my speech I sold 133 books. On February 1 I was before the Fairbanks branch and there sold 170 books. I got ten subs for the Weekly People and fifteen subs for The Industrial Bulletin. There is no better field for Socialism than Alaska.

Carl Starkenberg.

Fairbanks, Ala., Feb. 13.

YOUNG SOCIALIST CLUBS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—We have just started a young people's club for Socialist work and study for boys and girls. We want to find out how other clubs of this kind are carried on by corresponding with such clubs or from your own information on this subject.

W. J. Rogers, Secy.

285 23rd St.

Detroit, Mich., March 10.

DOCUMENTS WANTED.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I was told the other day that A. F. of L. musicians' organizations exact an admission fee of \$100 from all foreigners, no matter how good the union credentials they may bring with them. Some readers of The People may be able to verify this with documentary proof.

By the way, I heard a story of a Newark woodworker going to New York, and, as he sought work there, he tried to get in touch with the union of his craft. He found them all right, and they put him through a third degree examination. "Why did you leave Newark," etc., etc., and they didn't let him in. I am told that if a Newark carpenter of the Brotherhood comes here to work he has to pay a tax to the Building Trades Council—sixty-seven cents, I think it is.

All of this recalls very forcibly that I have somewhere read regarding the total absence of right and justice among savage men: the boundaries of their particular family or tribe being the limits of their idea of humanity. The craft union is worse, if anything: it shuts out craftsmen who seek admission to the union and then outlaws them.

Readers of The People who can supply constitutions, by-laws or other documentary evidences of such practices should send such documents to The People.

Jerseyman.

Jersey City, March 12.

WHAT DOES ALL THIS MEAN?
To the Daily and Weekly People:—I know a family, American for generations. The husband had steady work for years at his trade. He was correctly described by an acquaintance in this way: "—wears on his face a sign, 'No new ideas need apply here'."

When the panic struck in October, he lost his job, hustled around and got another in another town at lower wages. As the panic rolled on he lost that job; again he hustled and got still another job in another town at lower wages still. He has this last job now, but is "hanging by the eyelids." It may go any time.

His appearance has changed completely—he looks as if bricks had hit his head from four different directions at once. His home has been broken up twice since the panic. His face now says:

"What have I done?"
"I don't drink."
"I don't chew."
"I don't gamble."
"I go to church."
"I voted for Roosevelt."
"I hate foreigners."

so since the I. W. W. has expressed itself officially on that very subject.

The I. W. W. in the Preamble declares for both united political action and united economic action, for unity on the political as well as on the industrial field. This language of the Preamble implies as plainly as language can express it that there are two fields of action on which the working class must exert its energies—the one economic, the other political. And this language of the Preamble clearly means that the working class needs and that the I. W. W. will set up, "in the ordinary sense," a political party and contest with the capitalist the seats of government—legislative, executive and judicial—and don't let Williams and Foote and all other anti-political actionists in the true and proper sense of that word forget it.

I am sorry to see the evident desire on the part of a few members to twist and torture the words of the Preamble from their true, their plain and proper meaning. But neither the endeavor of fellow-worker Foote to have the I. W. W. turn its eyes inwardly upon its own structure to find its political reflex, nor the attempt of Williams to have us see in "our press and the lecture platform" the "true political party of labor," as Marx puts it, or the "true political reflex of working class interests," as Williams has it, will ever succeed.

The efforts of these two fellow-workers in that direction, especially since the I. W. W. has expressed itself more than once upon this matter, appears to me to be disingenuous; and if there were the least prospect of their succeeding it would endanger the very life of the organization itself. Neither will Williams' argument that, "For the I. W. W. to set up political party in the ordinary sense would mean confusion and retardation for the movement, to say nothing of the corruption that would surely follow the advent of the adventurous labor politician," hold good as against the setting up of a political party of labor, for if it is a valid argument against the setting up of a political party of labor that corrupt and adventurous politicians are apt to get into it, then the argument would be just as valid against the setting up of an economic organization of labor, for no economic organization of labor heretofore set up, with possibly one exception, has ever remained wholly free from the corrupt adventurer.

To advise an abandonment of the political field is to advise the workers to throw away one of their two powerful and equally necessary weapons. To advise a retreat from any field of action where the interests of the working class may be legally and effectively advocated and defended, in my opinion smacks of cowardice and should not be tolerated now, nor in the future, by the I. W. W.

Williams holds that "The I. W. W. may from time to time seize hold of a municipal government here and there for the purpose of protecting its economic organization." Williams knows that the capitalist tiger operates not only in "municipalities here and there," but in all municipalities, states and nations; and he knows that the I. W. W. will need to protect its economic organization not only in "municipalities here and there" from the teeth of the capitalist tiger, but in all municipalities and all the time until that tiger is slain.

Williams knows that the capitalist class is organized and operates nationally and internationally, and if the I. W. W. is to protect its economic organization, that is to say, fight for its very existence, by setting up a political organization, it will discover what common sense ought to make plain to all, that to protect the life of the organization the I. W. W. will have to be politically extensive with the boundaries of its economic organization.

The size of the political reflex or shadow of the economic organization must have some sort of proportion to the size of the economic body reflecting that shadow. It would be absurd to think that a body existing nationally could reflect only a municipal shadow.

No, the shadow will be, in its boundaries, co-extensive with the economic body casting the shadow. The I. W. W. must and will cast its political reflex or shadow. The I. W. W. will see to it that a national political party of labor is set up, a party that will stand on the political field for identically what the Industrial Workers of the World stands for on the economic field.

JAMES H. ARNOLD, Secretary,
Local No. 73, I. W. W.
Louisville, Ky., March 15.

To secure the DAILY PEOPLE regularly ORDER it from your newsdealer. As the paper is not returnable, your newsdealers must have a STANDING ORDER for it, or else they will not get it for you. INSIST ON GETTING IT.

VOLCANIC RUMBLINGS

S. P. Rank and File Begins to Demand Resignation of Usurping National Committeemen.

Kalispell, Mont., March 12th, 1908.
Daily People,

New York, N. Y.

Comrades:—At the last meeting of Local Kalispell, Socialist Party, the enclosed resolutions were passed, and I was instructed to forward them to the Weekly People and ask to have them published, if you can find the space to do so.

Fraternally yours,
E. G. Bjornby, Recording Secretary,
Local Kalispell, S. P.

[Enclosure]

Kalispell, Mont., March 8, 1908.
Editor Montana News:

Dear Comrade:—The news that the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party has turned down the proposition made by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor party, fell like a bolt of lightning from a clear sky on the membership of Local Kalispell. So desirous were the members to enter protest that the regular order of business was suspended that a committee might be appointed to draft resolutions of protest against what seems an insult to the membership of the Socialist party of America.

In line with this feeling of deep disgust at the action of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party whose action in this instance savors of "inner-circleism" rather than sound Socialist doctrine, the committee incorporated their sentiments in the following resolutions, which were unanimously endorsed by the local:

Whereas, The National Executive Committee of the Socialist party of America has seen fit to ignore the rank and file in refusing to consider the overtures of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor party; and

Whereas, In so doing they have ignored the wishes expressed by the Stuttgart Congress, urging the unification of all the Socialist factions in one class-conscious, revolutionary body; and

Whereas, This arbitrary action on the part of the National Executive Committee debars the rank and file from expressing their views prior to the National Socialist convention by referendum; therefore be it

Resolved, That Local Kalispell condemns in unmeasured terms such arbitrary action and demand the resignation of such members of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party of America as had the unexampled gall to constitute themselves the "inner circle," and we call on our comrades of other locals in the State and nation to do likewise; and be it further

Resolved, If such officers shall refuse to resign, a referendum be called to impeach such members of the National Executive Committee as voted against unification.

A. J. Chapman,
O. W. Johnson,
W. E. Ahrens,
—Committee.

S. P. Man Demands Referendum on Unity Question.

Vancouver, B. C., March 12.

Comrades:—The International having urged upon the necessity of all Socialists uniting into one common organization to meet the common enemy of every member of the working class, and our comrades in the S. L. P. having invited us to meet them in a Unity Conference, it is up to us to find out why those self-styled "leaders" of the S. P. are opposed to it.

This is not the time for mincing matters; that time has long since passed. It is time now, to examine the roots of the evil, let the results be what they may. I have been mixed up in the fight, if it has the right to be dignified by that title, out here in Washington and British Columbia for the last five years or so, and I find that the anti-unity element are those having "axes to grind," or, in other words, material interests controlling individuals.

I find that private owned papers constitute material interests among some of the self-appointed leaders at least out here on the Pacific Coast. How it may be in the Eastern and Middle States I do not know, but taking it for granted that general principles are the same world over, I conclude that the private owned press has something to do with the anti-unity action of at least some of the "leaders" in the East.

I stated in the first part of my letter that we have been called upon to unite against the common enemy of our class. And of whom, then, is this enemy composed. There are in our organization (not in our movement—they may never enter there) a bunch of professional or semi-professional parasites who emit periodical bunches of "hot air," or who issue "every little while" an advertising sheet whose columns are mostly filled with get-rich-quick schemes, "sure cure for

men" buncum, "Little Giant" headache powders, "How I risked my life for Moyer and Haywood," and other "propaganda" of a similar nature. These men are intentionally or otherwise (it doesn't matter which, the effect is the same), enemies of our movement. And any man or set of men who oppose unity in the ranks of the workers is their enemy. The masters are uniting against us. Comrades, it is now up to us to get rid of our "leaders" and bare our arms for battle. The place is here, and the time is now for unity of forces.

Insist on a referendum being taken on this question, comrades. It is up to us to do it. Our leaders refuse to submit it to us to vote on.

Congratulating our women comrades in New York for having asserted themselves in such a positive manner on this matter, and trusting that the locals of the S. P. will act as vigorously and as promptly, I remain,

Yours for Unity and the Revolution.
J. N. Boult.

The Popery Located.

Jersey City, N. J., March 17.—It is not my intention to squirt malignancy or insinuation toward my colleagues. Billingsgate and prejudice have never, and will never, solve a single problem in all the world's history.

It is about time our party took stock of its resources and tactics.

It was my opinion for a long period—I am thoroughly convinced that my opinion was a Simon-Pure delusion—that the S. L. P. absolutely refused to unite. I have since come to the conclusion that such a pertinacious attitude was applicable to the S. P. But I am constrained to draw a line of demarcation when I charge the S. P. with absolute refusal to unite. I will tell you why. There are men in our party who actually believe that they are endowed with such a superabundance of erudition that they can assume the responsibility of determining the advisability and inadvisability, the validity and invalidity of certain proposed acts, without submitting such propositions to be decided upon by the rank and file; and then they have the brazen effrontery to tell us proletarians to beware of a Pope in the S. L. P. If the recent action upon unity by the National Committee of the Socialist Party isn't papacy pure and simple, then I'll have to secure a dictionary which states contrariwise.

Some of my colleagues might charge me with heresy, but the moment they do so they will have stopped reasoning. The "International Socialist Review" of February, 1908, has a few words to say apropos of the question of unity. The Review writes previous to the decision of the N. C. of the S. P.:

It comments upon the resolution which was introduced by Algernon Lee, member of the National Committee of the S. P. of New York State. The resolution provided that the incoming N. C. of the S. P. be designated as a committee of seven from the Socialist Party to meet with the committee from the S. L. P. to discuss terms of union.

"This motion," continues the Review, "has already received the endorsement of the New York State Committee of the Socialist Party."

It must be admitted that the Socialist Party of New York State acting as it did through its State Committee, was very candid and sincere. The object or gist of their resolution was by all means a step in the evolution toward Socialist unification.

The aforesaid Review in alluding to Algernon Lee's resolution has this to say: "If the Socialist Party were to vote down Comrade Lee's motion it would put itself in a false position before the Socialists of other countries and the unorganized Socialist sympathizers of the United States. If our party refuses to negotiate, it will fairly be held responsible for the failure to unite. The rational course seems to be to go into the conference, and then stand for the right of the membership as a whole to run the affairs of the consolidated party in accordance with the will of the majority."

Since the N. C. of the S. P. absolutely refused to negotiate, it therefore stands conspicuously self-convicted of its failure to unite. The Socialist Party, boasting as it does, of its preponderant membership—preponderous when compared with the S. L. P.—believes it has solved the tactical problem of a political Socialist party. When I say Socialist party in this instance, I mean the papal N. C. of the S. P.

The Review in that same item on unity continues by comparing the membership of the S. P. to that of the S. L. P.

If the 2,000 will not unite unless the 30,000 will reverse their tactics and methods in some such way as was suggested by Local Redlands, California, then the responsibility for the failure of union will rest on the Socialist Labor Party, and more desirable members of that party will be likely

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

G. W. B., RED BLUFF, CAL.—Send \$4.55 to Labor News Co., 28 City Hall Place, this city, for the Swan Sonnenchein & Co. edition of "Capital"—about \$4.20 for the book and 30 cents for stamps. It will be imported for you.

SOCIALIST LABOR PRESS, EDINBURG, SCOTLAND.—The statement on page 56 of "Value, Price and Profit" that, in the illustration given, "if the workingman receives four shillings," the rate of profit would sink to 33 1/3 per cent" is an error. It should be "50 per cent." Whether the error was in the original manuscript, or whether it is one of those "improvements" that too-smart-by-half compositors occasionally make, we have no way of ascertaining. The error shall be expunged from the next edition.

E. S. E., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—Be not rash in judgment. When a non-Socialist flares up in denunciation of Socialism, it does not necessarily follow that he is a "dyed in the wool" foe. It often happens that people, who are themselves doubting, flare up at those who at least share their doubts. Cautious treatment is ever wise. Only when the facts warrant the conclusion that the non-Socialist who flares up is a foe indeed, should he be treated as such. Once a foe is unmasked—fire!

A. B., NEW YORK.—Unfortunately, but unavoidably, there are too many people, who, though unable to think, are ever spouting "Marx!" "Marx!" But the same thing happens to "Industrialism." The man who says: "Forget Marx!" because such misuse is made of Marx's name, would also say "Forget Industrialism," seeing fools and schemers misuse that word also. The fact is nobody says: "Forget Marx!" but people, the crudities of whose notions and the visionaries of whose plans, feel at every turn the cold steel of Marxism enter their souls.

E. W. M., NEW YORK.—Now to your second question—

There is no such thing as the "control of the flow of gold between countries." When "credit" grows shaky in one country it seeks to steady itself by importing gold. There is no system in the term "Capitalist Class and Working Class."

R. W., SACRAMENTO, CAL.—Now to your last question—

The term "Labor and Capital are enemies born" is correct. Capital means the privately owned plant of production. Capital, therefore, starts with and has to be fed at the expense of Labor. Implied in the term are "Capitalist Class and Working Class."

A. W. M., NEW YORK.—Now to your second question—

There is no such thing as the "control of the flow of gold between countries." When "credit" grows shaky in one country it seeks to steady itself by importing gold. There is no system in the term "Capitalist Class and Working Class."

T. O. P., MUNCIE, IND.—Now to your last question—One thing it is to brood over "old fights"; another thing is to ignore them altogether. The former is bad, the latter worse. He who does the former becomes monomaniacal; he who does the latter denies the importance of history.

J. F. B., BOSTON, MASS.—Now to your third question—

Where 10 needs

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
TEE.
Henry Kuhn, National Secretary, 28 City Hall Place.

CANADIAN S. L. P.
National Secretary, W. D. Forbes,
412 Wellington Road, London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
(The Party's literary agency.)
28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.
Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p.m.

A CALL TO AID THE PROPAGANDA OF THE S. L. P.

To the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party.

GREETING:

The N. E. C. sub-committee instructed the undersigned to present to you an arrangement made with comrades Frank E. Young and Joseph Campbell and to urge your active co-operation.

The two comrades proposed to act as volunteer organizers and canvassers for the Party press and Party literature on the following conditions: Both are to travel and work as a team, holding meetings, gathering subscriptions to the Party organs and selling Party literature. To sustain them in this work, they are to receive a commission of 30 per cent on subscription cards and literature sales, but as that alone would not suffice to meet expenses, a fund is to be started, to be known as the "Literature Fund," and out of that fund purchases of literature and subscription cards are to be made.

A Party sympathizer, taking a special interest in the plan proposed, offered to cover the initial expenses in order to get the work started and, so it is understood, will continue to bear a helping hand provided the Party membership will lend such support as to insure an uninterrupted continuation of the work.

In keeping with the plan outlined above, the undersigned will receive contributions to the Literature Fund, the money received to be turned over to the Labor News Co. and to be drawn against by comrades Young and Campbell in literature and subscription cards.

All contributions will be credited to the Party press.

Henry Kuhn,
National Secretary pro tem.
28 City Hall Place,
New York, Jan. 31.

NEW YORK STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The regular meeting of the New York S. E. C. was held on Friday Mar. 26th, at headquarters, 28 City Hall Place.

Present: Walsh, Kuhn, Moonells and Olpp; the first being chairman.

Communications: From Section Gloversville having organized, submitting a list of officers, and requesting a speaker for Sunday, March 22nd; from Chautauqua County having held a meeting, and reporting other routine work; from Section Schenectady, submitting its financial report and electing H. Kuhn as its delegate to State Convention; from Section Monroe Co., electing M. Schreiber to State Convention and rendering its financial report; from Section Buffalo requesting that Comrade Bohn be nominated for Governor; from H. Weiss of Patchogue.

Section Buffalo has nominated the following Comrades for the National Convention: B. Reinstein, E. Hank, H. Kuhn, H. Gunn, P. De Lee, J. Vollrath, D. De Leon.

From Section Rensselaer County having nominated the following for same: P. De Lee, H. Gunn, B. Reinstein, F. A. Olpp, and F. Passano.

From De Lee declining as a nominee for State ticket due to being a Notary.

In view of the fact that Comrade Moonells is Secretary of Correspondence Bureau and is therefore more familiar with the correspondence throughout the state, a motion was made and seconded that he represent the State Committee in reference to correspondence in the State Convention and that the Secretary call the meeting to order, and read the report of the State Committee.

Fred. A. Olpp, Sec'y.

SOMERVILLE LECTURE.

A public lecture will be held by Section Somerville, Mass., SUNDAY, March 29, at 2:30 p.m., in Columbia Hall, Studio Building, Davis Square, Somerville. Subject, "The Industrial Panic; Its Cause and Its Remedies." Speaker, A. E. Reimer, of Boston. Admission free.

SOUTH NORWALK, CONN.

"Socialism, or That Great Divide," will be the subject of a lecture by James T. Hunter of New York, at Arlon Hall, South Norwalk, Conn., FRIDAY, March 27, 8 p.m. The lecture will be under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party. At close of the lecture questions will be invited.

Admission is free. Everybody welcome.

SECTION SEATTLE

Give Information on How to Sell S. L. P. Literature.

To the comrades of the S. L. P.,

Greeting:—As we have received a letter from Comrade C. H. Chase, Denver, Colo., and from other quarters, asking information regarding the news stand and newsboys operating in Seattle, we give below the answers pertinent to the several questions.

Question 1.—How many newsboys are in the field? Do they work all day?

Answer.—Two; sometimes three. They work afternoons and evenings and attend all S. L. P. and S. P. meetings on street and in halls. The municipal campaign has been on the last four weeks. So they took in all, or most, of the different meetings of the candidate for Mayor and sell our papers. It does one good to see the discomfited looks on some of the Democratic and Republican candidates when they hear the newsboys telling why they should read The People, and announcing the contents of the paper.

Question 2.—How much are the newsboys paid?

Answer.—For the first four months the Section paid one newsboy \$12 per week. He was and is a member of the Section. This was done to get the idea started. He was also allowed his expenses to visit Tacoma and Everett once a week to sell papers. But two months ago his wages was discontinued. The newsboys are supplied with papers from the stand at wholesale price, and sell copies at five or ten cents, as the European papers vary in price. They are making things go alright. They are not members' sons, but are members who are out of work.

Question 3.—How is the news stand conducted?

Ans.—It is kept by a comrade who is our local organizer, D. G. O'Hanrahan, and is situated at 201 Occidental avenue. A space six foot is rented at \$15 per month, and a box is fitted with shelves, and books and pamphlets are displayed. All party literature is handled together with some European revolutionary papers and pamphlets, including French, Italian and German anti-clerical, comic papers, the pictures of which are a drawing card. Though the average wage slave does not comprehend the language, the pictures speak for themselves. Of course, there are proletarians here who speak those tongues and who buy the papers. A sign is displayed which reads, "Seattle Labor News Stand."

Question 4.—Are our subscriptions gotten by the members or do the newsboys stand bring them, or most of them, in?

Ans.—Every member is a committee of one and does his best to get them. Of course, the comrade at the stand is in the best position to get subs, as he is in touch with more wage slaves than most of us. Commencing with February we will send a monthly report of sales together with remarks as to local conditions. We hope by this means to encourage our comrades to get in line and hustle. These times are most opportune to get our literature into the hands of the working class.

I might state that the Section, in conjunction with the State Committee, allows Comrade O'Hanrahan the rent for the stand in literature. Such revenue is derived partly from our propaganda meetings. I might also add that the reason Section Seattle went into this line was because of an ordinance passed prohibiting Socialists speaking on the very street where we are now delivering the goods for the mental training of the proletarian. The most essential part in revolutionizing the chloroformed brain of the average wage slave.

Before I close this letter, a word about the municipal campaign would perhaps not be amiss. The campaign has been on for four weeks and we have a candidate on the S. L. P. ticket for Mayor, John W. Monette. He and other local speakers are certainly putting in some good work on the street and in the halls. Our headquarters were packed these last three Sunday nights. Our speakers give the audience the straight goods and they are well delivered and received by the eager crowds. Many Socialist party men are beginning to ask our speakers of the difference between the two Socialist parties. Not a few are surprised at the answers they receive. On the whole they seem satisfied with the replies given them. This is one of the signs of the times.

The Socialist party, as usual, is hobnobbing with and catering to the American Federation of Labor. They have several members of the Carpenters Union on their ticket. This is the fly-paper method of vote-catching. For the Literature Committee, John P. Anderson, Seattle, Wash., March 1.

OPERATING FUND.

The country should be flooded with S. L. P. leaflets this summer. Will you help it? If you will, begin now by assisting this fund. Send along your contribution, let it be large or small, it is the aggregate that tells. Last week this fund was not very well supported, a total of \$9.30 being received from the following:

V. Chupovich, Redlands, Cal.	\$1.50
B. Burgholz, Elizabeth, N. J.	1.00
3-6-10 A. D., New York	3.00
Geo. Dibb, New Bethlehem, Pa.	.50
S. W. New York "Overage"	.80
H. Spittal, Erie, Pa.	.50
A. C. Wirtz, Barstow, Cal.	2.00
Total	\$ 9.30
Previously acknowledged	1,886.82
Grand total	\$1,896.12

DETROIT I. W. W. LECTURE.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn will deliver an address on Industrial Unionism at Arbeiter Hall, March 27, 8 p.m. Meeting held under auspices of Local 150, Industrial Workers of the World.

Everybody come and bring your friends. Free.

VOLCANIC RUMBLINGS.

(Continued from page 5.)

until the existing economic system had breathed its last. I am afraid, ay, I am certain, that its life preservers and hose, so to speak, would be found rotten and contaminated. May we hope that the Socialist Party will become conscious in the near future of its fallacious tactical foundation.

To attribute the sparse membership in the S. L. P. to its tactics, is no argument at all, it is an unscientific method of ascertaining causes, it is jumping to conclusions. If there were no hope of Socialist unification upon sounder and more solid principles, then we would be justified in saying:

"Who now shall lead us, what God shall heed us.

As we lie in the Hell our hands have made;

For us are no rulers, but fools and be-foolers.

The great are fallen and the wise men gone."—Wm. Morris.

"The hollow leader but betrays the hollow dopes who heed him;

"The hollow critic vents his idle praise to idle fools who feed him."

I say, militant Socialists of America, unite in one political party of the working class (the nature of the party to be decided at a conference), in order that we can fight the common enemy as a united party of proletarian against the bourgeois. Let there be unity and then capitalism will meet a greater enemy, whose maxim shall be, "United we stand, divided we fall."

Molar motion being more efficient than molecular motion, therefore the Socialist Party will be forced by the irresistible tide of progress and experience to take action in direction of Socialist unity. Integration must finally and inevitably win over dissipation.

Frank Urbansky,
Jersey City, N. J., March 17.

STATE CONVENTION.

(Continued from page 1.)

organization, it was bitterly fought by the powers that be.

Shortly before I left the hall, the convention engaged one Mallard as State organizer. I know nothing of him. He is the young man who led the unemployed parade in Cincinnati recently. He made quite a favorable impression on me when he addressed the convention.

Strickland had stated earlier in the afternoon that the S. P. was united, that they were satisfied with their form of organization, etc. Mallard knocked the harmony point in the head when at the beginning of his address he said that he wanted the membership to understand that he is fighting Victor Berger, Max Hayes, Morris Hillquit and Mahlon Barnes. What is the matter with these lights? Can it be true that the S. L. P. is right in its charges against them?

As the work of the convention was now practically completed I left.

The members of the S. P. local of this city, as well as the few others from other localities, are to be congratulated for the manly stand they took in their fight against the arbitrary methods of their National Committee and the Rev. Strickland.

Frank P. Janke,

AGITATE! AGITATE!
Send 25 cents for package of the New Leaflets, five different kinds in the assortment. Now is the time to push the propaganda. These leaflets will be read. Try a 25 cent package.

For the Literature Committee, John P. Anderson, Seattle, Wash., March 1.

A QUESTION FOR YOU**IF IT DOES NOT FIT YOUR CASE WELL AND GOOD BUT IF IT DOES**

For the week ending March 20 we received 103 subs to the Weekly People and 32 mail subs to the Daily People, total 135. Those sending five or more were: J. Burkhardt, Indianapolis, Ind.; R. Snyder, St. Thomas, Ont.; D. G. O'Hanrahan, Seattle, Wash.; J. Brewer, Hartford, Conn., 5. Prepaid cards sold: Hartford, Conn., \$25; Phoenix, Ariz., \$5.

Now, comrades and friends, a word with you: Will you say that this is the best that you can do for the emancipation of your class? We doubt if there is one who will say: "Yes, this is the best that can be done." Why not get busy in the propaganda then? Why not do the BEST that can be done? The ruling class are not idle. They are busy riveting the chains upon the workers, and you should be just as busy in the effort to throw them off.

Sit down and put the question to

yourself, "Have I done what I could?" and if the answer is against you hasten to make amends to the cause you love, by redoubling your efforts in its behalf. An important campaign is before us. Now is the time for us to reach the workers, whooping it up at the end of the campaign will be of little use.

Labor News sales continue light: Phoenix, Ariz., \$4.00; Kalispell, Mont., \$2.00; New Castle, Pa., \$2.40; Chicago, Ill., \$2.35; \$2.18; Tacoma, Wash., \$1.20. It is high time that there was an awakening. Push out the literature. The pamphlet "Marx on Mallock" is ready for you. The next pamphlet to follow will be the one on "Unity." You can get a cloth bound copy of the Proceedings of the First Convention of the I. W. W., for a limited time for fifty cents. See how many you can dispose of at that price.

MOVING FUND LISTS STILL OUT.

Idaho.

" 253—J. M. Wunderle, Rockford, Ill.

" 355—F. Beach, Knightsville, Ind.

" 358—H. Behrens, Davenport, Iowa

" 359—O. Haselgrave, Newport, Ky.

" 364—F. Kissel, Omaha, Neb.

" 372—J. Loepke, Allentown, Pa.

" 373—N. Dupre, Lyndon, Wash.

" 374—J. J. Sladish, Humboldt, Arizona.

" 381—J. L. Forrester, El Centro, Cal.

" 382—M. W. Bradley, Redlands, Cal.

" 383—J. A. Cole, Yuba City, Cal.

" 395—S. Bailey, Delta, Colo.

" 396—L. L. Crissman, Fruita, Colo.

" 399—A. C. Forrester, Taplin, Idaho.

" 401—E. Vleweigh, Bridgeport, Ind.

" 403—W. T. Cathey, Fulton, Ky.

" 405—S. V. Kruthen, East Lynne, Mass.

" 406—L. A. Doherty, Fitchburg, Mass.

" 407—J. A. Anderson, Gardner, Mass.

" 408—W. F. Doyle, Marlboro, Mass.

" 411—J. E. White, Ft. Charles, Mo.

" 417—A. B. Galatin, Helmetta, N.J.

" 419—H. A. Schoeps, Weehawken, N. J.

" 425—F. W. Punch, Seaside, Oregon.

" 430—A. G. Brandt, Tylersport, Pa.

" 432—V. Bernardoni, Galveston, Texas.

" 433—F. A. Peters, Humble, Texas.

" 434—M. Braden, Locoste, Texas.